Mon

Jenny, Mathias

DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110401981

Mathias Jenny

Mon

Introduction

Mon (အရေဝ်မန် *ʔərè mɔ̀n*, ဘာသာမန် *phèəsa mɔ̀n*), a member of the Monic branch of Mon-Khmer, is spoken today by about 800,000 to one million speakers (depending on the source) in southern Burma[1] and along the southern stretch of the Thai-Burmese border, besides a few communities in central and northern Thailand. The closest relative of Mon is Nyahkur, a language spoken by 1000–4000 speakers (different sources) in the region between central and northeastern Thailand. Nyahkur has convincingly been shown by Diffloth (1984) to be a direct offshoot of the Mon language spoken in Dvāravatī, which was separated from the bulk of Mon around the 10th century.

The areas where Mon is spoken today are the residue of a once large cultural area covering southern Burma, central Thailand and parts of north and northwestern Thailand up to the region of Vientiane in Laos. Mon apparently was the vernacular used in large parts of what has come to be known as the Dvāravatī cultural area that flourished in the region between the 4th and 10th centuries, before central Thailand became part of the Khmer empire of Angkor and later the Tai kingdom of Sukhothai and Ayudhya. The earliest inscriptions in Mon date back to the 6th century and were found in central Thailand, around Nakhon Pathom and Lopburi. In the 11th century, Mon was introduced as literary language in the Burmese empire of Pagán, together with Pali and the perhaps then already extinct Pyu, which probably had religious and ceremonial status. Mon was in use here for about a century, before being gradually replaced by Burmese.

While Mon was superseded in central and upper Burma by Burmese, its use as language of everyday conversation as well as commerce and culture continued in the southern parts of the country, which at different times formed inde-

1 I use the terms Burma and Burmese throughout this paper, rather than Myanmar, as the latter seems still to be less commonly used in European languages and lacks the noun-adjective distinction of the former terms. Other Burmese place names are given in their most common spellings, which usually are the same as the traditional ones used in European sources.

Mathias Jenny: Department of Comparative Linguistics, University of Zurich
E-Mail: mathias.jenny@uzh.ch

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110401981-007

pendent Mon kingdoms at Martaban and Pegu, also known as Haṁsāvatī. Smaller Mon communities were spread across the Irrawaddy Delta as far west as Bassein.

The history of the Mon language can be conveniently divided into three periods:

1. Old Mon: 6th–14th century
2. Middle Mon: 14th–17th century
3. Modern Mon: after 17th century

Modern Mon can be further divided into (classical) Literary Mon and Spoken Mon. The two varieties differ in vocabulary and sentence structure. Both are far from being a unified linguistic system, but consist of a number of varieties, depending on geographical region as well as register. It is probable that these distinctions existed in earlier periods of the language, but we do not have any records of the colloquial language prior to the modern period, and more research is needed to work out a historical dialectology of Mon from the inscriptions.

Today Mon does not have official status in the Union of the Republic of Myanmar, but it is used as the means of everyday communication and taught in some 300 Mon schools in Mon and Kayin (Karen) States and in Tanintharyi (Tenasserim) Region in Burma, which offer full instruction in Mon. Literacy in Mon is believed to be about 25% and increasing over the past few years, though accurate numbers are impossible to come by. A large number of popular songs in Mon are produced every year, mostly with accompanying karaoke videos. The few publications in Mon within Burma are mostly religious texts, though there are a number of reprints of literary and historical texts. Mon has recently been included in the Myanmar block of Unicode, which may allow Mon text to be digitized following internationally accepted standards. The few online journals publishing in Mon, run by overseas communities, will hopefully soon follow this development.

The linguistic situation of the Mon is far from clear. Given the number of speakers, Mon cannot be considered an endangered language, but two factors threaten its survival in the long term. Firstly, most Mon are bilingual, speaking also Burmese and/or Thai. In the case of the Mon in Thailand, known as Thai-Raman, Thai is clearly their first language in terms of proficiency, with many speakers being semi-speakers. In Burma, Mon is less threatened, as there are still villages where children grow up speaking Mon as their first language, learning Burmese only at school and in their dealings with state institutions. But here also there are very few monolingual speakers. Secondly, there is no generally accepted standard variety of the Mon language, either spoken or written. The dialects vary greatly in pronunciation, and the orthography is very in-

consistent in many respects. In spite of these problems, Mon seems to be viable, and its use may even be increasing with the political reforms in Burma since 2010 allowing greater freedom for minority ethnic nationalities..

1 Phonology

Like several other Mainland Southeast Asian languages, Mon is written in an Indic-derived syllabic (or abugida-type[2]) script, which only approximately reflects the phonology of the spoken language. While the inventory of 35 consonant letters in the script is sufficient to represent the consonant sounds and clusters occurring in Mon, the script's provision for Indic vowels (*a ā i ī u ū e o*) does not cater for the vowel distinctions of spoken Mon. Even the invention of new signs and combinations still leaves room for ambiguity. Major changes occurred in the phonology of Mon between Old Mon and some time before Modern Mon[3], devoicing all voiced stops, giving rise to two distinct phonation types or registers. Different authors vary in the dating of these sound changes, but most agree that they occurred rather late, maybe as late as the 16th century. These changes are not reflected in the orthography, which means that the written language represents a pre-devoiced state. In other words, the voicing contrast in the voicedness distinctions in the orthography to express register distinctions, similar to the reading of the two vowel series in Khmer (see chapter on Khmer, this volume) or the tone rules in modern Thai (see chapter on Thai, this volume). Providing a description of the phonology of Mon is made difficult by the absence of a standard form of the language. The description below is based on the analysis of a number of dialects from different regions in Burma (see Jenny 2005 for details). It does not include the varieties of Mon spoken in Thailand.

1.1 Segmental phonemes

The inventories of both consonants and vowels are rather rich in Mon. While the set of initial consonants is straightforward, the vowels and final consonants are

2 An abugida script contains symbols that denote a consonant accompanied by a specific vowel. See Daniel & Bright (1996: 4, 385–87) for details.

3 Old Mon covers a period starting from 6th century AD up to 11th century ; Middle mon correspond to the 12th to 20th century. And Moderne Mon refer to the language spoken these days.

harder to describe independently, as they influence one other. Syllable rhymes also exhibit the greatest variation between dialects. In initial position, there is at least one and at most two consonants, while only one final consonant is allowed. A syllable may end in a consonant or a vowel/diphthong.

The simple initial consonants are given in the following table. The aspirated sonorants (hɲ hn hm) are realized as partly voiceless sonorants [n̥ɲ n̥n m̥m],. In older stages of Mon, aspirated stops they are best analysed as clusters of stop + h because of their behaviour in the context of various morphological processes, but this analysis is not possible in the modern language..

Table 1: Initial consonant phonemes and their orthographic counterparts

	k	kh	ŋ	
ɕ	c	ch	ɲ	hɲ
ɗ	t	th	n	hn
ɓ	p	ph	m	hm
y	r	l	hl	w
hw	s	ʃ	h	ʔ

	က ဂ	ခ ဃ	င့	
စ	စ ဇ	ဆ ဈ	ည	ည
ဍ	တ ဒ	ထ ဓ	န ဏ	နှ
ဗ	ပ ဗ	ဖ ဘ	မ	မှ
ယ	ရ	ဋ လ	လ	ဝ
ဝှ	သ	ရှ	ဟ	အ

Of the initials listed above, *ɕ* occurs only in very few words, and only with the rhyme *-iəʔ* (which, in turn, occurs only with this initial), so its phonemic status is not certain. It merges with *ʃ* in some dialects, and with palatal *c* in others. The initial *ʃ* on the other hand occurs only in loans from Burmese and English loan words. The voiceless bilabial approximant *hw* is variously pronounced as [xw], [ʍ] or [ɸ ~ f]. The implosives *ɗ* and *ɓ* are pronounced as fully voiced implosive or preglottalized stops..

Initial clusters are allowed only with a velar or labial stop in first and a liquid in second position.

Table 2: Initial clusters

ky	kr	kl	kw
khy	khr	khl	khw
py	pr	pl	
phy	phr	phl	

ကျ ဂျ	ကြ ဂြ	ကွ ဂွ	ကွှ ဂွှ
ချ	ခြ	ခွ	ခွှ
ပျ ဗျ	ပြ ဗြ	ပွ ဗွ	
ဖျ	ဖြ	ဖွ	

The cluster *ky* merges with the palatal stop c in the northern dialects but is pronounced like [ky] or [cy] in the southern dialects, where its phonemic status is shown by the existence of minimal pairs like *kyac* 'Buddha, sacred object' vs. *cac* 'be torn'. The combination *khy* on the other hand is kept distinct from *ch* in only a few conservative dialects (and in the orthography).

Turning to the inventory of syllable rhymes, there are a number of vowel-final combinations which do not occur, accounting for the gaps in the table of syllable rhymes below. Furthermore, not all rhymes occur in both registers.

Vowels in Mon generally tend to be centralized and diphthongized. Thus *i* is pronounced rather like [ɨ] or [ɨĭ] and *u* like [ʉ] or [ʏʊ̆]. The mid front vowel *e* is pronounced very high, approaching [ɪ] or even [i], similarly *o* is [ʊ] or [u], in some dialects and contexts more like [ʊʊ̆] or [oʊ̆]. In many dialects *ɒ* approaches [ɔ], while *ɔ* is realized with an off-glide [ɔʊ̆]. In certain dialects the diphthongs *eə* and *ɛə* merge, while in some the merger includes also *iə*. A similar merger is true for the diphthongs *ɒə*, *ɔə*, *oə* and *uə*. As in other Mon-Khmer languages, final palatal consonants are preceded by a palatal off-glide after the vowel, so that *ac* is pronounced [aʲc]. The rhymes *ɤk* and *ɤŋ* as well as *ak* and *aŋ* are pronounced with palatal finals a number of dialects, i.e. [ɤc], [ɤɲ] and [ɒc], [ɒŋ], the latter very close to [ac], [aŋ]. The rhyme *ɒəh* seems to occur only in one lexeme in some dialects, viz. *(pərɔ̀c) həmɒəh* 'pepper'. Vowel quantity is not contrastive. Vowels in open syllables are phonetically longer than vowels in closed syllables. Syllables with final *ʔ* and *h* have particularly short vowels.

Table 3: Syllable rhymes

V	**Vʔ**	**Vh**	**Vy**	**VC$_{velar}$**		**VC$_{palatal}$**		**VC$_{dental/labial}$**
monophthongs								
i	iʔ	ih		iək	iəŋ			it in ip im
e	eʔ	eh						et en ep em
ɛ	ɛʔ	ɛh		ɛk	ɛŋ			ɛt ɛn ɛp ɛm
a	aʔ	ah	ay	ak	aŋ	ac	aɲ	at an ap am
ɒ	ɒʔ	ɒh						ɒt ɒn ɒp ɒm
ɤ	ɤʔ	ɤh	ɤy	ɤk	ɤŋ			ɤt ɤn ɤp ɤm
ɔ	ɔʔ	ɔh		ɔk	ɔŋ	ɔc	ɔɲ	ɔt ɔn ɔp ɔm
o	oʔ	oh	oy	ok	oŋ	oc	oɲ	ot on op om
u	uʔ	uh	uy					ut un up um
diphthongs								
iə	iəʔ							
eə								
ɛə								

V	V?	Vh	Vy	VC_{velar}	$VC_{palatal}$	$VC_{dental/labial}$
ɒə	ɒəʔ	ɒəh				
ɔə						
oə						
uə						
ao	aoʔ	aoh				

1.2 Suprasegmental phonemes

Phrasal stress increases towards the end of a phrase, peaking with the last lexical word, which may be followed by postverbal auxiliaries and final particles, including the topic marker *kɔ̀h*.

Mon is not a tonal language, but each major syllable is assigned one of two registers, variously labelled 'clear' vs. 'breathy', 'head' vs. ''chest', 'light' vs. 'heavy', or simply 'first' vs. 'second' register. While pitch may be involved especially in elicitation pronunciation, the main feature of the registers is phonation type. The first register is pronounced with a clear, modal or tense voice, while the second register is characterized by lax pronunciation and some breathiness throughout the syllable (but not resulting in the aspiration of the initial consonant). This often comes with a lower pitch, which is not phonemic and can be overridden by prosody. The second register is indicated (following Shorto 1962) with a grave accent over the vowel or the main part of a diphthong: *à, ùə*.

The rhymes including the vowel *ɒ* and the diphthong *ao* do not occur in second register syllables, neither does the rhyme *oə*. The diphthongs *eə* and *ɛə* on the other hand are found only in the second register. The asymmetrical distribution is a result of the role of register in the development of diphthongs.

1.3 Syllable structure

The syllable in Mon consists of at least an initial consonant and a rhyme. Minimal rhymes are either a long vowel or a diphthong, or a short vowel followed by a consonant, i.e. a rhyme must be two morae in length. A syllable may be preceded by a minor syllable, which consists of a single initial from a restricted set and the neutral vowel *ə*. The number of possible onsets of minor syllables varies somewhat with dialects and registers of language, but most commonly only *k, t, p, m, h,* and *ʔ* occur in this position. In formal pronunciation (or in formal words used in colloquial speech), *s, c, ch, n, r, l,* and *y* are also found. There is no regis-

ter distinction in minor syllable or presyllables. The syllable structure can be summarized as follows:

CVV, CVC, CCVV, CCVC all with or without presyllable Cə-.

2 Word structure

2.1 Derivational morphology

Old Mon had a productive system of derivational morphology and at least one inflectional prefix, viz. *s-* for what Shorto calls "hypothetical" mode, probably irrealis or prospective. Derivation in Old Mon is achieved by means of prefixes and infixes, depending mainly on the syllable structure of the base lexeme. Phonetic reduction of the left periphery of the word led to a merger of many of these affixes ("affix syncretism") The result in modern spoken Mon is a restricted set of presyllables and a general derivational prefix *hə-* (examples 2, 3, 4, table 4). This general prefix *hə-* is the only partly productive prefix in the modern language, all other affixes surviving only in lexicalized forms. Otherwise, the Old Mon inflectional prefix remains only in the written language, but it is not pronounced in speaking. The following examples illustrate the development of derivational affixes from Old Mon to modern written and spoken Mon.

Table 4: Affixes in Old Mon, Middle Mon and modern Literary and Spoken Mon

	Old Mon	Middle Mon	Literary Mon		Spoken Mon	Gloss
1	*gluṅ*	*glaṅ*	ဂျင်	*glaṅ*	*klàŋ*	be numerous
2	*girluṅ*	*gralaṅ*	ဂလင်	*galaṅ*	*həlàŋ*	quantity
3	*gumluṅ*	*gamlaṅ*	ဂမျင်	*gamlaṅ*	*həlàŋ*	many
4	**guluṅ*	**galaṅ*	ဂလင်	*ga-laṅ*	*həlàŋ*	increase
5	*ñāc*	*ñāt*	ညာတ်	*ñāt*	*ɲàt*	see
6	*ñirñāc*	*?*	လညာတ်	*lañāt*	*kəɲàt*	sight
7	*tīt*	*tit*	တိတ်	*tit*	*tɛt*	move out
8	*ptīt*	*ptit*	ပ္တိတ်	*ptit*	*pətɛt*	bring out

In the spoken language, the prefix *pə-*, which forms causatives of stative and dynamic base verbs, is replaced in some dialects by the general prefix *hə-*, which, among others, is derived from the original causative infix *-u-* after an

original voiced initial. This prefix has retained some productivity in spoken Mon, as in the word *həpyɤk* 'to ruin', apparently based on a recent loan from Burmese ပြုတ် *pyouʔ* 'fall off'. That the loan is recent is shown by the initial cluster for Burmese *py-*, written <pr->, which in older loans is retained as *pr-* in Mon (s. Jenny 2005: 122f). Nominalizations of the type of *ñirñāc* (example 6, table 4) with the nominalising infix inserted after reduplication of a single initial consonant led to a generalization of a prefix *la-* (< *r-*), which is used mostly in formal contexts, rarely in the spoken language. The pronunciation varies between *lə-* and *kə-/ʔə-*.

Nominalization in modern Mon is achieved by compounding, while the only fully productive causativising device is a periphrastic expression involving preverbal (*paʔ*) *kɒ* '(do) give' (see 3.2.3).

2.2 Compounding

Compounding is a frequent device in spoken Mon to derive new lexemes, both nominal and verbal. The the composition of the vast majority of compound words is transparent, but in some cases old compounds were phonetically reduced giving the appearance of monomorphemic sesquisyllabic words, e.g. *ləkyac* 'monk' from *kəlaʔ kyac* 'lord of the Sacred Being'.

More common are expressions combining a generic term with a more specific one, like *hɒəʔ-ɗac* 'bathroom', lit. 'house – water', where both elements are nouns. In other cases the modifier is verbal, as in *mənìh-hnòk* 'adult', lit. 'person-big'. In such compounds the modifying element follows the modified head. In loans borrowed from Burmese, the modifier-head order of Burmese may be reversed in the Mon version (like *ka-làŋ* 'bus' from Burmese *làin-kà* , from English 'line-car'), or else the Burmese word is imported whole and not internatlly reordered (like *mì-yətha* 'train' from Burmese *mi³-yətha³*, lit. 'fire + vehicle').

(1)	a.	*hɒəʔ-ɗac*	'house water'	>'bathroom'
	b.	*mənìh-hnòk*	'person-big'	> 'adult'
	c.	*ka-làŋ*	(Bur) laiN³-ka³ 'line-car'	> 'bus'
	d.	*mì-yətha*	(Bur) *mi³-yətha³* –'fire-chariot'	> 'train'

One common type of head-modifier compounding has a general class term preceding a more specific term. These 'class terms' are used regularly in many semantic domains (see Grinevald 1999, Vittrant 2002 on class terms). If the referent of the specific term is taken to be common knowledge, the class term can in

some cases be dropped. Examples of class term are *sɔt* 'fruit', *nɔm* 'plant, tree', *həcem* 'bird', *kaʔ* 'fish', *ɗɤŋ* 'town, country', etc. Class terms also have disambiguating function, as in *nɔm krɤk* 'mango tree', *sɔt krɤk* 'mango (fruit)' and *ɗɤŋ krɤk* 'China'.[4] The 'dummy nominal head' *ɓɛ̀ʔ* functions as referential marker in colloquial Mon and can occur before any noun. The nominal head *sɛ̀k* (sometimes sɔ̀k) forms nouns from verbs with the meaning 'something to V', as in *sɛ̀k ɕiəʔ* 'something to eat, food' and *sɛ̀k ʔa* 'a place/reason to go'.

In other compounds the component parts make up a new meaning by addition, rather than modification, as in *mìʔ-mɛ̀ʔ* 'parents', lit. 'mother-father' and *ɗɤŋ-kwan* 'country, land', lit. 'town-village'.

(2)

a.	*nɔm krɤk*	'plant-mango'	'mango tree'
b.	*sɔt krɤk*	'fruit-mango'	'mango (fruit)'
c.	*sɛ̀k ɕiəʔ*	NMLZ-'eat'	'something to eat, food'
d.	*sɛ̀k ʔa*	NMLZ-'go'	'a place/reason to go'
e.	*mìʔ-mɛ̀ʔ*	'mother-father'	'parents'
f.	*ɗɤŋ-kwan*	'town-village'	'country, land'.

Compounding is the only productive process available to form nouns from verbs. This process is observed to be especially common in formal registers like newspapers and translations from Burmese and English. Otherwise, many verbs have lexicalized nominal forms (like *klon* 'do' vs. *kəlon* 'work *n.*'). In most other cases a verbal expression is preferred in the spoken language.

Common nominal heads for deriving nouns from verbs are *pərao* and *pəriəŋ* 'story, affair'. Less frequent (and more formal) are expressions with *hətɔ̀h mə* V, lit. 'the fact that V', which is syntactically a complex phrase with a nominal head followed by a relative clause, rather than a simple compound.

Verbal compounds occur frequently, both indigenous and borrowed from Burmese. In many cases a distinction between verbal compounds and serialization cannot be easily made. The main criterion to assign an expression to the latter is the greater degree of productivity (see § 3.2.2). Examples of verbal compounds are given in the following table.

4 The homonymy of 'mango' and 'Chinese' in modern Mon is a historical accident. While krɤk 'mango' is an inherited Mon-Khmer lexeme, krɤk 'Chinese' (originally 'Turk' > 'Mongol') is a more recent loan, ultimately from Sanskrit *turuṣka* 'Mongol', cf. Burmese တရုတ် <trut>.

Table 5: Verbal compounds

ချိုတ်	*khyɒt*	die	ပျုတ်	*plɒt*	extinguished	ချိုတ်ပျုတ်	*khyɒt.plɒt*	certain
ဖုံ	*phuy*	mix	ဖက်	*phɛk*	associate	ဖုံဖက်	*phuy.phɛk*	mix
ဂွိင်	*kwɔ̀ŋ*	worry	ဖေက်	*phɔc*	afraid	ဂွိင်ဖေက်	*kwɔ̀ŋ.phɔc*	worry
ဒလော်	*həlɤ̀ʔ*	instruct	ဓ္ဓောန်	*həton*	teach	ဒလော်ဓ္ဓောန်	*həlɤ̀ʔ.həton*	educate

2.3 "Psycho-collocations" and generic V-O expressions

Psycho-collocations as defined by Matisoff (1986) are compounds made up of a term designating the seat of emotions and a modifying element, usually verbal, to describe a certain feeling or emotional state. The normal centre of emotions in Mon is *cɒt* 'mind' (from Pali *citta*). This is not the same as the anatomical 'heart', which in Mon is called *kon kəmɔʔ* or *kon phyun krɤ̀h*. The noun *cɒt* can precede or follow the descriptive element, depending on whether a permanent trait or a passing feeling is expressed (see in example 3). Usually expressions with *cɒt* preceding the modifier express a permanent disposition, but this rule is not absolute as illustrated by the last three examples in (3):

(3)	စိုတ်ကေ့	*cɒt klɛʔ*	'short tempered'	lit. 'heart – short'
	စိုတ်ဂိုင်	*cɒt klòŋ*	'tolerant'	lit. 'heart – long'
	စိုတ်ပြဟ်	*cɒt prɔh*	'impulsive'	lit. 'heart – quick'
	စိုတ်ရှက်	*cɒt ʃɤk*	'troubled'	lit. 'heart – trouble'
	စိုတ်လိ	*cɒt lɤ̀m*	'discouraged'	lit. 'heart – destroyed'
	စိုတ်ထုံ	*cɒt thuy*	'at one's wits' end'	lit. 'heart – disturbed'
	မိပ်စိုတ်	*mìp cɒt*	'happy'	lit. 'happy – heart'
	အောန်စိုတ်	*ʔon cɒt*	'sad'	lit. 'little – heart'
	ပေင်စိုတ်	*pɔŋ cɒt*	'agree'	lit. 'full – heart'

Another type of psycho-collocation involves an active verb followed by *cɒt*. The interpretation here is usually that X does something which has an effect on Y's state of mind. In some cases the affectee is identical to the agent.

(4)	ဖျေ့စိုတ်	*phyeh cɒt*	'make up one's mind'	lit. 'put down - heart'
	ပရေစိုတ်	*pəre cɒt*	'comfort, appease'	lit. 'appease - heart'
	တ့ိုပ်စိုတ်	*kəmɒh cɒt*	'make happy'	lit. '(make) overflow - heart'

Some verbs require a generic object if no specific object is overtly expressed or present in the discourse context. After the first mention, the generic object is dropped. The choice of generic object is lexically determined, and the semantic connection is usually transparent. The generic object is not referential and cannot be modified or referred to by an anaphoric element later in the discourse, but generic objects can be (and often are) replaced by a specific, and sometimes referential, object as the discourse develops. The following examples illustrate verbs with generic objects.

(5)	စပုင်	*ɕiəʔ pɤŋ*	'eat (rice)'	သုင်ဒ့	*sɤŋ ɗac*	'drink (water)'
	ဟ့ောန်လိက်	*həton lòc*	'study (text)'	ဗ့်လိက်	*pɔ̀h lòc*	'read (text)'
	ချွလိက်	*khyu lòc*	'write (text)'	ဟုံဒ့	*hum ɗac*	'bathe (water)'

2.4 Elaborate expressions, ideophones and euphonic compounds

Elaborate expressions, usually consisting of four morphemes, are found largely in poetic language, though much less frequently in ordinary speech. The connection between the elements is not fixed: it can be purely phonetic, semantic, or syntactic. One common type of elaborate expressions consists of two semantically related and syntactically parallel phrases, which together make up a new meaning, like *thɒʔ krɤ̀p kɤʔ wɛ̀ə* 'go through forests and fields', lit. 'abandon - forest - get - field'. In other cases one part is added for purely euphonic reasons, without adding semantic content. The difference between elaborate expressions and euphonic compounds (described below) lies in the fact that in elaborate expressions all parts occur as lexical items with their own semantics in other contexts. One example of this type of expression is *sɔt chuʔ sɔt tùn* 'fruit', lit. 'fruit - wood - fruit - bamboo', with *sɔt chuʔ* being the common word for 'fruit'.

Ideophones describing sounds or other perceptual impressions occur frequently in poetic language, but only rarely in everyday speech. They are usually made up of two identical, or rhyming or alliterating syllables[5]. Examples are *tɛ̀ŋ-tɛ̀ŋ* 'with a creaking, grating noise', *tìn-thin-tìn-thin* 'with a drumming noise', *phyi-phyi-phya-phya* 'with a flashing light, like lightening'.

Euphonic compounds are made up of a lexical element and a semantically empty element which shares the onset or the rhyme with the lexical part. Usu-

5 See Sidwell 2014 on expressives in Austro-asiatic languages.

ally the lexical element precedes the euphonic syllable, but this order is reversed in some cases. as in *hman-hmɤk* 'to question' (*hman* 'ask', alliteration *hmɤk*), *mìp-sìp* 'happy' (*mìp* 'happy', rhyme *sìp*), *ɲìʔ-ɲèʔ* 'a little bit' (*ɲìʔ* 'little', alliteration *ɲèʔ*), and *kəre-kərot* 'lament' (alliteration *kəre*, *kərot* 'complain, lament',). In some rhyming or alliterative compounds both syllables occur only in the compound and are not synchronically independent lexemes, as in *ɗɒp-ɗao* 'green, lush'.

(6)	a.	*hman-hmɤk*	'to question'	*hman*	'ask' + *hmɤk*
	b.	*mìp-sìp*	'happy'	mìp	'happy' + sìp
	c.	*ɲìʔ-ɲèʔ*	'a little bit'	*ɲìʔ*	'little' + *ɲèʔ*
	d.	*kəre-kərot*	'lament'	*kərot*	'complain, lament' + *kəre*

2.5 Reduplication

Reduplication of whole words occurs mostly with verbs, and occasionally with pronouns or nouns, with different functions. One common function of the reduplication of verbs is the formation of adverbial expressions, often used in an imperative sentence.

(4) a. အာပြဟ်ဟ်။[6]
ʔa ***prɔh-prɔh***
go quick-RED
'Go quickly!'

b. စင်္ဂြင်္ဂ်။
ɕiəʔ ***klàŋ-klàŋ***
eat much-RED
'Eat a lot!'

c. မံင်သ့ိတ်တ်။
mɔ̀ŋ ***hɛt-hɛt***
stay calm-RED
'Stay quiet!'

d. ဟ့ိုခ့ိုဟ်ဟ်။
hɒm ***khɒh-khɒh***
speak good-RED
'Speak well!'

Another function of reduplicated stative verbs is to turn them into attributives following a noun, usually reinforcing ('very …') or attenuating ('rather …; …-ish') the force of the verb.

6 In Mon orthography, reduplication of a word is indicated by repetition of the final consonant, or the repetition of the whole word if there is no final consonant.

(5) a. ကာဆောတ်တ်
ka ***ɗot-ɗot***
car small-RED
'a very/rather small car'

b. သွရိုင်ဝ်
hwaʔ ***rɔ̀ŋ-rɔ̀ŋ***
curry spicy-RED
'very/rather spicy (hot) curry'

Both stative and dynamic verbs are reduplicated in connection with interrogatives to form indefinite expressions as in Burmese (cf. ex. 46, p. 81):

(6) a. ဒဲလ့ိုဥုံအာအာ အဲဒးဗက်ရောင်။
hənày ***lɒ*** *ɗəh* ***ʔa-ʔa***, *ʔuə* *tɛ̀h* *pɛ̀k* *noŋ*.
place which 3 go-RED 1SG HIT follow ASRT
'Wherever he goes, I have to follow him.'

b. ဗ့ိုလ့ိုဧ့ေဟ့ိုဟ့ို ဥုံဟ့ံဆ့ေပုဟ်။
pɤ̀m ***lɒ*** *pèh* ***hɒm-hɒm***, *ɗɛh* *hùʔ* *pətɛh* *pùh*.
manner which 2 speak-RED 3 NEG believe NEG
'However you speak, he won't believe you.'

Pronouns can in some cases be reduplicated to express plurality. The most common cosntruction is *ɲèh-ɲèh-ʔuə-ʔuə* 'all of us', lit. 'he-he-I-I'. Less common are reduplicated nouns indicating plural referents, like *plày-plày* 'young men'. Some quantifiers, e.g. *hmɛ̀p* 'every', can be reduplicated for reinforcement of their meaning. Similarly the numeral *mùə* 'one' is reduplicated to mean 'any one'. Nouns only rarely occur in reduplication.

3 Syntactic structure

3.1 Nominal phrase

The noun phrase in Mon can consist of a bare noun or a noun with modifiers. The relative order of multiple modifiers within a noun phrase is fixed, though the quantifier expression has some freedom of movement within the complex nominal expression. A modifier usually has scope over all preceding elements in the noun phrase. The maximal extension of a nominal phrase includes function marking prepositions, one or more noun stems, modifying elements (nominal or verbal), a quantifier, demonstratives and the phrase final topic marker, in this order. These modifying elements will be discussed in the next sections.

Table 6: Maximal extension of noun phrase

ပဲ့	လိက်ဗွဟ်	တိ့	ဧ့	က့်	လဝ်	အဲ	၈ါ	ဏံ	ဂ့်
ɗɔə	*lòc-həwɔ̀h*	*kəmʊəʔ*	*ɗɛh*	*kʊ*	*lɔ̀*	*ʔuə*	*ɓa*	*nɔʔ*	*kɔ̀h*
LOC	book-reading	new	3	give	deposit	1SG	two	PROX	MEDL
PREP	nom. head	MOD	relative clause				QUANT	DEM	DET
‘in these (aforementioned) two new reading books which he gave me’									

3.1.1 Determiners

Determiners in Mon can be classified as either interrogative or demonstrative. One interrogative *mùʔ* ‘what (kind of)’ precedes the noun while the other *lʊ* ‘which’ follows it.

Demonstratives, which always follow the noun, distinguish between proximal *nɔʔ*, medial *kɔ̀h* and distal *tɤʔ*. The presence of a demonstrative other than *kɔ̀h* implies singularity of the referent, unless the plural marker *tɔʔ* is added (see below). Unmodified nominals can have either singular or plural reference. The medial demonstrative *kɔ̀h* is also used as marker of known information, and functions in this regard as a topic marker. (see 7d). When used as a topic marker, *kɔ̀h* may follow another demonstrative, as in *hʊəʔ tɤʔ kɔ̀h* ‘that house (which we’re talking about)’ or *lòc nɔʔ kɔ̀h* ‘as for this book’ (see Jenny 2009 for a detailed study). The following examples illustrate the use of determiners.

(7) a. မုသွ
mùʔ hwaʔ
what curry
‘what curry’

b. သွဏံ
hwaʔ nɔʔ
curry PROX
‘this curry’

c. သွတေံ
hwaʔ tɤʔ
curry DIST
‘that curry’

d. သွတေံဂ့်
hwaʔ tɤʔ kɔ̀h
curry DIST MEDL=TOP
‘that (known) curry’

3.1.2 Classifiers, quantifiers and number

Unlike most Mainland Southeast Asian languages, Mon only rarely makes use of nominal classifiers. Although a few classifiers exist, their use is never obligatory, with the possible exception of *həkaoʔ* ‘body’ for monks and novices. Other classifiers which are sometimes used in the spoken language in connection with numerals are *mèʔ* ‘seed’ for various objects, including houses, cars, computers, etc., and *kənɤŋ* for relics and other sacred objects. The word *nɔm* ‘tree, plant’ may infrequently be used in counting trees.

Despite the fact that classifiers are not normally used in Mon, the word order in quantifier expressions is similar to the corresponding constructions in classifier languages like Thai and Burmese, with a gap where the classifier would be expected. The numeral follows the noun if it is a general noun, but precedes if it is a measure word, such as 'meter', 'bottle', 'hour' or 'day'.

(8) a. ရဲဓါ
rɔ̀ə ɓa
friend two
'two friends'

b. ကာပိ (မ)
ka pʋəʔ (mɛ̀ʔ)
car three (CLF)
'three cars'

c. သို့မွဲ (မ)
hʋəʔ mùə (mɛ̀ʔ)
house one (CLF)
'one/a house'

d. ဓါတ့ဲ
ɓa ŋuə
two day
'two days'

e. ပိပလင်
pʋəʔ pəlɛŋ
three bottle
'three bottles'

f. မွဲသ့ံ
mùə hnam
one year
'one year'

The basic numerals in Mon are given in the following table. Compound numerals are made up from the basic numerals by regular processes of addition and multiplication. The word for 100,000 is the highest numeral in colloquial use, one million is expressed as '10×100,000'. The only irregularity that occurs in compound numerals is the use of *ʔiʔsɔn* for 'five' after multiples of ten. In this case the compound form of 'ten', *coh*, is dropped.

Table 7: Numerals

၀ သုည, သုန်	*sun(ɲaʔ), tʏŋɲaʔ*[7]	zero	စ့်မွဲ	*cɔh-mùə*	eleven
၁ မွဲ	*mùə*	one	စ့်သုန်	*cɔh-sɔn*	fifteen
၂ ဓါ	*ɓa*	two	ဓါစ့ော်	*ɓa-coh*	twenty
၃ ပိ	*pʋəʔ*	three	ပိက္ကသုန်	*pʋəʔ-ʔiʔsɔn*	thirty-five
၄ ပန်	*pɔn*	four	ပန်ဒ့ုစ်ဒစံာ	*pɔn-coh-həcam*	forty-eight
၅ မသုန်	*pəsɔn*	five	ကုံ	*klɔm*	hundred
၆ တရ်	*kərao*	six	မသုန်ကုံ	*pəsɔn-klɔm*	five hundred
၇ ထပ့်	*həpɔh*	seven	လ့ီ	*ɲìm*	thousand
၈ ဒစံာ	*həcam*	eight	လက်	*lɛk*	ten thousand
၉ ဒစိတ်	*həcit*	nine	ကုိတ်	*kʋt*	hundred thousand
၁၀ စ့်	*cɔh*	ten	စ့်ကုိတ်	*cɔh-kʋt*	million

7 Both words are versions of Pali *suññа* 'empty, void'. The form *tʏŋɲaʔ*, from Burmese *θouN²ɲa¹*, is common among Mon speakers in Burma. The English derived *sìrò* 'zero' is also common.

The interrogative quantifier, *mùʔ.ciʔ* means both 'how much' and 'how many' (See § 3.3.2 on questions). Like the numerals it occurs after general nouns (*hloə mùʔ.ciʔ* 'how much money') and before measure words (*mùʔ.ciʔ ŋuə* 'how many days'). The general indefinite quantifier *təŋɤ̀* 'some' is also used as an indefinite pronoun .

Plurality of nominal referents is optionally expressed by adding either the plural marker *tɔʔ* or the attributive form of *klàŋ* 'be much/many', namely *həlàŋ*. The former expresses an inclusive (definite, complete) number, while the second is a more general plural marker. The two markers are not mutually exclusive. *tɔʔ* can be added after an expression marked by *həlàŋ*, with no obvious change in meaning apart from a possible shift of emphasis. *tɔʔ* occurs only after pronouns and personal names. After pronouns it marks plurality, as in *pèh tɔʔ* 'you pl.' and *ɗɛh tɔʔ* 'they', while it has associative function with personal names, as in *rɔ̀t.mòn tɔʔ* 'Rot Mon and his friends' (compare with Burmese marker တို့ /to[1]/). When the plural marker *tɔʔ* occurs with the adnominal demonstratives *nɔʔ* 'this' and *tɤʔ* 'that', the words merge into *tənɔʔ* 'these' and *tətɤʔ* 'those'.

3.1.3 Other modifiers

A noun can be modified by other nouns, pronouns, verbs or relative clauses. Noun modifiers may indicate possession or other association. Some nominal modifiers are better described as nominal compounds, like *hʊəʔ ɗac* 'bathroom, rest room', as the compound meaning is idiomatic (see section 2.2). If a pronoun modifies a noun, the relation is always one of possession. For general possession with no overt possessum expressed, the generic nominal head *krɔ̀p* 'thing' or the (synchronically opaque) possessive head *hmɛk*/*hmɔk* is used. The possessum almost always precedes the possessor, with the important exception of the interrogative 'whose', in which case the interrogative pronoun *ɲèh.kɔ̀h* 'who' precedes the possessum, as seen in (9).

(9) ညးဂ့်သို့။ ညးဂ့်ကွန်။

ɲèh.kɔ̀h	*hʊəʔ*	*ɲèh.kɔ̀h*	*kon*
who	house	who	son
'whose house?'		'whose son?'	

In the answer to these questions, the constituent order is as expected, with the modifier following the head, as seen in (10).

(10) သို့ရဲ့။ တွေန်အဲ။

hɒəʔ	*rɔ̀ə*	*kon*	*ʔuə*
house	friend	son	1
‘the friend’s house’		‘my son’	

Verbs, both stative and dynamic, can modify a nominal head. In some cases the verb occurs in the (lexicalized) attributive form (cf. example (11)a–b), but usually the basic verb root can be used attributively (cf. example (11)c). Depending on the semantics of the noun and the modifying verb, the modified noun is understood as subject or object of the verb, as in the following examples.

(11) a. မိုဟ်ဖ္ၚ်

mənìh	*hnɔ̀k*
person	be.big
‘adult’	

b. လိက်ခ့ိုဟ်

lòc	*khɒh*
text	be.good
‘a/the good book’	

c. စ္ဟစ

kənaʔ	*ɕiəʔ*
food	eat
‘food (for eating)’	

Relative clauses were common in Old and Middle Mon and occur regularly in Literary Mon, but they are less frequent in the spoken language. The old relativizer *mɛ̀ʔ*/*mə* has been almost completely lost in colloquial Mon, so that there is no overt relativizer in the spoken language. Relative clauses are added after the modified noun, frequently followed by the topic marker *kɔ̀h*, which in this case functions as noun phrase boundary marker as well as topic marker. The relative clause serves to anchor the referent in the discourse, making it more easily accessible and therefore a better candidate for topic-hood (see Lambrecht 1994: 109; Jenny 2009). With juxtaposition being the only means of building a relative clause, relative expressions are usually restricted to subject and object as relativized functions. More complex constructions, such as oblique relativized functions, are not found. The following examples illustrate the development of relative constructions in Mon from Old Mon to the modern spoken language. Notice the shift of position from clause initial position to preverbal position of the relativizer *mun*/*ma* from Old Mon to Middle Mon (and modern Mon), which may well have caused or facilitated the loss of the marker in the spoken language. As seen in (11a), the relativizer is sometimes realized as a weak proclitic before the verb. This form is hardly audible in normal speech and often disappears in elicited sentences (11b).

(12) a. Old Mon
ဍေက်မုန်ဍုန်တကျာက်

ḍek	***mun***	*jun*	*ta*	*kyāk*
slave	REL	make.over	to	sacred

‘the slaves which he made over to the shrine’

b. Middle Mon
ဂလာန်ဒေဝတ်မဟိုမ်
galān dewatau ***ma*** *həm*
word god REL speak
'the words that the gods spoke'

(13) a. Spoken Mon
ဒ့ာ်ပ့ေ်မအာ
hənày pèh ***mə=ʔa***
place 2 REL=go
'the place you are going'

b. Spoken Mon
အရ့ေ်ပ့ေ်ဟို့(ဂ့်)
ʔərè pèh hɒm (kɔ̀h)
language 2 speak (MEDL)
'the things you said'

3.1.4 Prepositions

Mon makes regular use of a rather small number of prepositions which cannot be synchronically connected to verbs or nouns. The most common among these is *kɒ*, marking indirect objects of different types (recipient, benefactive) as well as peripheral functions like comitative and instrumental. This preposition is the result of a lexical conflation of the original oblique preposition (comitative, instrumental) OM/MM *ku* (formal pronunciation in SM *kaoʔ*) with the verb *kɒ* 'give'. It also combines with some other prepositions, such as *nù* 'from, out of, since' (general marker of source) and *ɗɔə* 'in, at' (locative marker). Other prepositions are restricted to the literary language, like *hwɛk/swɛk* 'for', *kom.kaoʔ* 'together with' and *nàʔ kɒ* 'with'(instrumental). More specific prepositions, also used in colloquial Mon, are *hətaʔ* 'in front of', *ʔətao* 'on (top of)', *hmɔ/ʔəhmɔ* 'under', *kərao* 'behind, after', and others. They can also be used adverbially as 'ahead', 'up(stairs)', 'down', and 'back' respectively.

3.2 Verbal phrase

The verbal phrase[8] consists of at least one verbal element, and can be expanded to include a number of verbs and particles. There is no marker of finiteness, and verbal categories are optionally expressed. Traces of the Old Mon morphological system remain in spoken Mon, but the processes themselves are no longer productive. Some verbs require an overt object, as seen in section § 2.3 above. A large number of auxiliary verbs occur in Mon, expressing various functions (s. § 3.2.3). Verb phrase particles (i.e. verb phrase operators which are not themselves verbs) are rare in Mon, the most common being the negator discussed in the next section. A special subcategory of verbs are the two copulas *tɔ̀h* 'be something', an identificational copula, and *nùm* 'exist, be there, have', an existential copula. Both show irregularities in negation, (see section 3.2.1).

3.2.1 Verbal categories

Verbal categories such as tense-aspect-modality(-manner) and directionality, are expressed in Mon by auxiliary verbs. Number (subject agreement) is not usually expressed, but the verb *ʔɒt* 'all' can be added at the end of the verbal phrase to indicate the plurality of the subject, but depending on the context and semantic content of the clause it can also indicate plural objects, as the following examples show.

(12) ကောန်ဉာ်အာဘာအိုတ်ရ။
kon.ŋàc *ʔa* *phɛ̀ə* ***ʔɒt*** *raʔ.*
child go school all FOC
'The children have (all) gone to school.'

(13) အဲဗ်လိက်အိုတ်ကျရ။
ʔuə *pɔ̀h* *lòc* ***ʔɒt*** *yaʔ.*
1SG read text all NSIT
'I have read (all) the books.'

The negation marker *hùʔ* (alternative pronunciations *hɤ̆ʔ* and *hə*) is placed directly in front of the verb that is to be negated as in (14), realized as labial infix -

8 I use 'verbal phrase' in the sense of Dixon's (2010: 108 ff) 'verb phrase', which is different from the use of 'verb phrase' (including object NPs) in some syntactic theories, and similar to 'complex verb' used by Vittrant, this volume.

w- in a small number of frequent verbs with initial velar stop, such as *kɤ̌ʔ* 'get', *khʊh* 'good', *kʊ* 'give', and a few others (Jenny 2003: 185ff). *hùʔ* cannot occur with non-verbal predicates, which are negated using the dummy verb *hùʔ siəŋ* 'not to be so' is placed after the predicate (15). This verb occurs only in negative and interrogative contexts.

A special negated form is delete found with the existential copula *nùm* 'exist, there is, have' which is *hùʔ mùə* 'not to exist, there is not, not to have', lit. 'not one' (cf. 16). This is the only occurrence of *hùʔ* before a non-verbal element; it can be explained by the historical development of the negation particle from Old Mon *sak* 'not to be, not to exist', which could be combined with a reinforcing element like *moy* (> *mùə*) 'one'. After *sak* was weakened to *ha*/*hə* (which in turn was later strengthened to *hùʔ*), it lost its verbal character, with *sak moy* > *hùʔ mùə* being a relic of the original construction.[9] A negation reinforcing particle can (and often does) occur in sentence final position also in spoken Mon (cf. 14). While the old form *mùə* is still common in Mon varieties spoken in Thailand, the Myanmar/Burma dialects usually add the Burmese loan *pùh* (Burmese ဖူး *phu*^{3}/*bu*^{3}). The following examples illustrate negation in verbal and non-verbal predicates.

(14) တဲ့ဏံ ကောန်ဌ်တံ ဟ့ံတိုန်ဘာပုဟ်။
ŋuə *nɔʔ* *kon.ŋàc* *tɔʔ* ***hùʔ*** *tʊn* *phèə* ***pùh***.
day PROX child PL NEG go.up school NEG
'Today the children are not going to school.'

(15) တဲ့ဏံဟ့ံသေင်ပုဟ် ကောန်ဌ်တံတိုန်ဘာ။
ŋuə *nɔʔ* ***hùʔ*** ***siəŋ*** ***pùh*** *kon.ŋàc* *tɔʔ* *tʊn* *phèə*.
day this NEG be.so NEG child PL go.up school
'It's not today that the children go to school.'

(16) သ့ဲအဲဟ့ံမွဲ။
hloə *ʔuə* ***hùʔ.mùə***.
money 1SG not.exist
'I don't have any money.'

9 The construction *hùʔ mùə* has led some authors to the conclusion that numerals are verbs in Mon, an analysis that is not supported by other data, e.g. no other numerals can be directly negated (cf. Bauer 1982: 164).

3.2.2 Serial verb constructions

Mon, like other Southeast Asian languages, makes frequent use of serial verb constructions, i.e. clauses containing more than one full lexical verb. Serial verb constructions typically describe a single event, rather than a series of independent events, and the verbs involved are of equal syntactic status, i.e. none is subordinate to the other(s) (see Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006 for details and definitions). Serial verb constructions in Mon can be either the root serialization or the core serialization type. In root serialization, verbs are always adjacent and have the same polarity and transitivity value (cf. 17–19), while in core serialization the verbs can be separated by intervening noun phrases and do not necessarily share polarity and transitivity value (cf. 20b, 21) (Bril, 2004: 2)[10]. Serial verbs can easily acquire different grammatical functions, depending on their semantic content and the type of serialization involved. Grammatical functions of verbs in serialization will be discussed in the next section.

Root serializations consist of two or more adjacent verbs with shared subject and, if transitive, shared object (cf. 17). Auxiliary verbs can be added, such as directional (cf. 19) or aspectual-modal markers. The position of these depends on their status as root or core operator. The following examples (17 to 19) illustrate serialization in transitive (17, 18) and intransitive (19) clauses.

(17) အဲကွာ်အာရာန်စကွာင်ပဲ့ဖျာ။

ʔuə	***kwac***	***ʔa***	***ràn***	***ɕiəʔ***	*kwaɲ*	*ʤɔə*	*phya.*
1SG	walk	GO	buy	eat	sweets	LOC	market

'I went to the market to buy some sweets to eat.'

(18) ဧုံဗက်ထဧုင်ဏာက့်ု ။

ʤɛh	***pɛ̀k***	***həʤìəŋ***	***na***	*klɒ.*
3	drive	CAUS.flee	CAUS.GO	dog

'He chased the dog away.'

(19) က့်ုကြိပ်ဒတိတ်အာန္ဓုက့်ုကုံ။

klɒ	***krìp***	***tèə***	***tɛt***	***ʔa***	*nù*	*kɒ*	*klɔʔ.*
dog	run	run.away	go.out	GO	SRC	OBL	garden

'The dog ran away out of the garden.'

10 The terms core serialization and nuclear serialization refer to the layered structure of the clause used in the Role and Reference Grammar approach. See Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 25)

In the above examples, the verbs glossed with small caps are auxiliary verbs with grammatical function, in this case directionals. Example (17) shows the combination of an intransitive sequence *kwac ʔa* 'walk go' with a transitive serial construction *ràn ɕiəʔ* 'buy eat'.

A frequent verb in root serialization is *kɒ* 'give', which is easily extended from acts of giving to benefactive situations, as in (20).

(20) a. မိရာန်ကိုကောန်ဉာ်ကွာင်။
mìʔ ***ràn*** ***kɒ*** *kon.ŋàc* *kwaŋ.*
mother buy give child sweets
'The mother bought sweets for the children.' [intended action]

b. မိရာန်ကွာင်ကိုကောန်ဉာ်။
mìʔ ***ràn*** *kwaŋ* ***kɒ*** *kon.ŋàc.*
mother buy sweets give child
'The mother bought sweets for the children.' [spontaneous action]

There is some variation in serial verb constructions between dialects and individual speakers, some perhaps reflecting influence from Thai and Burmese. The difference between sentences (20a) and (20b) is that the former expresses a benefactive action which is based on a wish or order of the beneficiary, while the latter expresses a "not-planned" act by the actor. The construction in (20b) is identical in structure to the Thai expression. Native Mon speakers in Burma tend to prefer prepositional expressions as (20c),[11] especially when two overt objects are involved.

(20) c. ဘိုအ်ကောန်ဉာ် မိရာန်ကွာင်။
phɤ̀ʔ *kon.ŋàc* *mìʔ* ***ràn*** *kwaŋ.*
for child mother buy sweets
'The mother bought sweets for the children.'

In core serialization the juncture between the involved verbs is looser than in root serialization. Arguments and peripheral elements may intervene between the verbs, and the verbs may be negated individually. Semantically, core serialization is used especially in resultative constructions, which in turn may easily acquire grammatical function. The borderline between lexical and grammatical function is not always clear, and often both may be present. Both

11 Notice that the preposition *phɤ̀ʔ* is a(n indirect) loan from the Burmese causative subordinator ဖို့ *pho¹*.

transitive and intransitive verbs occur in core serialization. Some examples are given below.

(21) အဲစပုင်ဟွံစ့်။
ʔuə ***ɕiəʔ*** *pɤŋ* *hùʔ* ***ceh.***
1SG eat cooked.rice NEG go.down
'I cannot (force myself to) eat.'

(22) ဧုံတံရုပ်က့ျုဟွံဂွံ။
dɛh *tɔʔ* ***rɔ̀p*** *klɒ* *hùʔ* ***kɤ̀ʔ.***
3 PL catch dog NEG get
'They (try to) catch the dog without getting it.'

The choice of root vs. core serialization when possible makes a semantic difference in the interpretation of an expression. While the subject of (23a) was explicitly shooting at a (specific) bird and hit it, in (23b) the activity involves only shooting with no specific goal in mind and the result (i.e. hitting a bird) is rather incidental. This difference in meaning has given rise to different grammatical functions of some serialized verbs, as illustrated in section 3.2.3 below.

(23) a. ဧုံပန်ဂစံဒး။
dɛh *pɔn* *həcem* *tɛ̀h.*
3 shoot bird hit
'He shot (and hit) a bird.'

b. ဧုံပန်ဒးဂစံ။
dɛh *pɔn* *tɛ̀h* *həcem.*
3 shoot hit bird
'He hit a bird while shooting.'

3.2.3 Auxiliary verbs

An auxiliary verb is a verb with grammatical function which occurs in combination with one or more lexically full verbs. As stated above, the distinction between lexical and grammatical function is not always easily made, and may in many instances be irrelevant to the analysis. Auxiliary verbs occur before or after the main verb, sometimes with different functions in each of the two positions. The lexical sources of auxiliary verbs are always synchronically transpar-

ent and they are not generally reduced phonetically. The functional categories of auxiliary verbs are not clear-cut, with some verbs expressing a range of functions covering directionality, modality, manner and others. In some cases syntactic differences are indicative of one or another functional category. For example, as an auxiliary verb, the verb *ʔa* 'go' can be separately negated if it has resultative function but not if it is directional, as shown in (23.1).

(24) a. ဒချေင်ဟွံအာ။
həd͡ɪəŋ hùʔ ʔa
chase NEG go
'Cannot chase away.'

b. တွာ်ဟွံအာ။
**kwac hùʔ ʔa*
*walk NEG go
Intended: 'Cannot walk away.'

Auxiliary verbs do not always have full-verb counterparts. Again, the same verbs can occur as free or bound form in different contexts and functions, as the example of *tɛ̀h* 'come into contact with, touch, hit' shows. The instances of *tɛ̀h* in (25a) and (25b) are free forms, while in (25c) and (25d) they are bound forms as shown by the question tag test.

(25) a. ကောန်ဴာ်ဒးက့ိုကိတ်ဟာ။ ဟွံဒး(ကိတ်)ပုဟ်။
kon.ŋàc ***tɛ̀h*** *klɒ kit ha?* *hùʔ* ***tɛ̀h*** *(kit) pùh.*
child **hit** dog bite Q NEG **hit** (bite) NEG
'Was the child bitten by the dog?' 'No.'

b. ဗုံအာသ့ဳိရဲဒးဟာ။ (အာ)ဒးရ့။
pɛ̀h ʔa hɒəʔ rɔ̀ə ***tɛ̀h*** *ha?* *(ʔa)* ***tɛ̀h*** *raʔ.*
2 go house friend **hit** Q (go) **hit** FOC
'Do you know the way to the friend's house?' 'Yes.'

c. အဲဒးတိုန်ဘာဟာ။ ဒးတိုန်ရ့။
ʔuə ***tɛ̀h*** *tɒn phɛ̀ə ha?* ***tɛ̀h*** **(tɒn) raʔ.*
1SG **hit** go.up school Q **hit** *(go.up) FOC
'Do I have to go to school?' 'Yes.'

d. ခုံစဒးဂျိဟာ။ စဒးရ့။
ɗɛh ɕiəʔ ***tɛ̀h*** *kyìʔ ha?* **(ɕiəʔ)* ***tɛ̀h*** *raʔ.*
3 eat **hit** poison Q *(eat) **hit** FOC
'Did he eat poison by accident?' 'Yes.'

Another example of an auxiliary verb occurring before or after the main verb is *kɤ̌ʔ* 'get'. In preverbal position, it functions as a bound auxiliary indicating an event which is caused by some backgrounded prior (enabling) event (see Enfield 2003, van der Auwera & al 2009). In postverbal position it is a free form indicating a general deontic possibility for the subject to perform an event, i.e. a -situational modality (van der Auwera & Plugian 1998). The latter function can be seen as extension of the resultative reading seen in example (22), first from 'success in catching' to general 'success' of an attempted act, and then further to general deontic possibility.

Other resultative auxiliary verbs have modal functions like *màn* 'win' > 'be physically/mentally capable' and *lèp* 'be skilled > can, know how to V' (cf. analogous Burmese verbs).

Directional auxiliary verbs indicate the spatial or temporal direction of an activity. While the spatial use is straightforward, the interpretation in the temporal domain is less obvious and depends on the verbal semantics as well as the context. Directionals are always bound forms and cannot be separately negated. The directionals in Mon occur in two sets, basic spatial event and caused spatial event. The latter is used whenever the object is moved in some way by the subject and this movement is indicated lexically or morphologically in the main verb. Compare the following sentences:

(26) a. ဍုံ ဗက်အာ။
ɗɛh ***pɛ̀k*** ***ʔa***.
3 drive GO
'He drove off/followed.'

b. ဍုံဗက်ဏာ။
ɗɛh ***pɛ̀k*** ***na***.
3 drive CAUS.GO
'He chased [her] away.'

(27) a. ဍုံစ်အာသ့ိ။
ɗɛh ***cao*** ***ʔa*** *hɒəʔ*.
3 return GO house
'He went back home.'

b. ဍုံဖျ့ဏာသ့ိ။
ɗɛh ***phyao*** ***na*** *hɒəʔ*.
3 CAUS.return CAUS.GO house
'He brought [her] back home.'

c. ဍုံကော်ဏာရဲအာသ့ိ။
ɗɛh ***kok*** ***na*** *rɔ̀ə* ***ʔa*** *hɒəʔ*.
3 call CAUS.GO friend go house
'He brought his friend home.'

d. ဍုံအာကော်နင်ရဲ။
ɗɛh ***ʔa*** ***kok*** ***nɛ̀ŋ*** *rɔ̀ə*.
3 go call CAUS.COME friend
'He went to fetch a friend.'

In (27c), the first directional verb (or orientation verb, see Bisang 1992: 67), *na*, occurs in root serialization with *kok* 'call', the second, *ʔa*, in core serialization. Only the first two verbs of the serialization share the causativity value and negation is only possible of the whole expression.

Other auxiliary verbs indicate aspectual values, frequently with an emotional, modal or manner connotation, like *thɒʔ* (often reduced to *hɒʔ* as an auxiliary) 'discard, throw' (example 28d), which indicates a spontaneous action carried out to the end (see Burmese ပစ် *pyiʔ* or *ɕiəʔ* 'eat', the exact function of which remains obscure: it can be used to mark habitual activities, but is not restricted to these. There is a sense of 'self-interest' or 'activity directed towards agent' (see example 28b), but not in all occurrences of this auxiliary verb. The verb *ket* 'take' as an auxiliary indicates that an activity is performed by or for the subject (ex. 28e); the verb *lɔ̀* 'put' (28d) as an auxiliary has a resultative function (like Burmese ထား *t^{h}a^{3}*). The following examples cover only a small portion of possible auxiliaries and their functions (for a more detailed account see Jenny 2005: 152ff).

(28) a. ဣဏ်ကော်စဳလ့ိ။
ɲɔʔ ***kok*** ***ɕiəʔ*** *pɤ̀m* *lɒ*
NMLZ.this call **eat** manner which
'What is this called?'

b. အဲလုပ်စသိုဇ်ကွာ။
ʔuə ***lùp*** ***ɕiəʔ*** *hɒəʔ.ɗac* *kla.*
1SG enter **eat** room.water before
'I'm (just) going to the toilet for a second.'

c. ဗှဲပွဲတော်အာကာန်ဗှဲ။
pèh ***pliə*** ***thɒʔ*** ***ʔa*** *kon* *pèh.*
2 abandon **discard** **go** child 2
'Get rid of your children (for good)!'

d. ကေတ်ဏာလဝ်မိတ်။
ket ***na*** ***lɔ̀*** *mìt.*
take CAUS.GO **put** turmeric
'They took along turmeric (for later use).'

e. မိက်ဂွံစတ့ှစေ်ကတော်။
məkɤ̆ʔ *cao* *teh* ***cao*** ***ket.***
DES return TOP return **take**
'If you want to go back, (find a way to) go back yourself.'

3.2.4 Valency

Transitivity distinctions are believed to be, in principle, a universal feature of the languages of the world. Transitivity in Mon is not easy to determine, as the distinction between core and peripheral participants is not a clear cut one. Verbs of motion, for example, can take a direct (unmarked) object if the motion is spatially orientated, that is if a directional auxiliary is present and if the object is a location, such as a place-names or a noun referring to a place like 'house', 'market', 'forest', etc. In all other cases a preposition is required.

While some verbs may be either transitive or intransitive in function, such as *pɔk* 'be open' ~ 'open' and *mat* 'be shut, closed' ~ 'shut, close', a large number of instransitive verbs have a derived causative transitive counterpart. Although the morphological processes available in Old and Middle Mon to derive causative transitive predicates from base verbs are no longer productive in the modern language, many pairs of base intransitive and causative transitive verbs have been lexicalized and the connection is still transparent synchronically in most cases. The most common causativising affix was the prefix *p-*/*pə-*, which survives in this form in many causative verbs.

The phonetic detail of this prefixation is complex in spoken Mon, although the prefixation is clear from the spelling. Before a single initial consonant, the prefix appears as p- if it can form a cluster with the initial, otherwise as pə-. Initial *c-* and *s-* fused with the prefix, resulting in *phy-*, as in *ceh* 'move down' - *phyeh* 'bring/put down', *sʏŋ* 'drink' - *phyʏŋ* 'give to drink'. In later formations, the prefix *pə- > bə- > hə-* is added, as in *cɒp* 'arrive' - *həcɒp* 'convey'. The prefix *hə-* replaced original derived causative forms also in other cases, e.g. *pətɛt ~ hətɛt* 'take out' and *pətɒn ~ hətɒn* 'bring up'. With initial clusters in the base verb, the vocalic infix *-ə-* (from Old Mon *-u-*) is used, often resulting in irregular phonetic realizations of the causative affix. In some cases analogy has created irregular forms, such as *pəyɛ* 'adorn, decorate' from the base *kyɛ* 'be beautiful'. The regular causative would be *kəyɛ*, with the vocalic infix.

Table 8: Causative prefixation

intransitive form			**derived transitive verb**		
ဧ့	***ceh***	'go down'	ဖျဲ့	***phyeh***	'bring/put down'
သုင်	***sʏŋ***	'drink'	ဖျုင်	***phyʏŋ***	'give to drink'
စုံပ်	*cɒp*	'arrive'	ဇ့ုံပ်	*hə-cɒp*	'convey, pass on'
တိတ်	*tɛt*	'go out'	ပ့ိတ်	***pətɛt*** ~ *hətɛt*	'take out'
တုၚ်	*tɒn*	'rise'	ပ့ုၚ်	***pətɒn*** ~ *hətɒn*	'lift up'
ကျေဝ်	*kyɛ*	'be beautiful'	ကမျေဝ်	***pəyɛ***	'adorn, decorate'

Some verbal bases cannot be prefixed to form causatives. In these cases the periphrastic construction with preclausal *kʊ* 'give' > 'let/cause' is used, often together with the verb *paʔ* 'do', as in *paʔ kʊ khʊh* 'make good, improve' from the base *khʊh* 'be good'.

Other valence increasing processes (applicative, benefactive) in Mon always involve the use of auxiliary verbs or verb serialization (cf. § 3.2.2). No derivational morphological processes are available for these.

There is no grammatical device for valence reduction in Mon. A quasi-passive construction using the lexical verb *tɛ̀h* 'come into contact, touch, (be) hit' can take nominal or phrasal/clausal complements. This does not involve agent demotion, and usually has an adversative connotation. Another possibility to promote the undergoer to subject position is by the more complex construction *tɛ̀h tɤ̀ŋ C*, lit. 'get accept C', where C denotes the event, which is syntactically embedded as complement of *tɤ̀ŋ*. In this case there is no negative connotation of the event. If the auxiliary verb *tɛ̀h* is dropped, *tɤ̀ŋ* indicates that the subject undergoes the event voluntarily. In both cases the agent is expressed in its normal position in the complement clause.

3.3 Clause structure

The basic constituent order in Mon is A V O and S V[12]. In natural language it is more common, though, for constituents to be fronted for pragmatic reasons. Fronting can signal topic or focus, either emphatic or contrastive. The only restriction that seems to apply to the fronting of constituents is that grammatical subject and object may not be fronted at the same time. The constituent orders A V O and O, A V are possible, but not A O V. Any part of the sentence can function as topic or comment, but by far the most common is for NPs to be topical and VPs to be the comment (ex. 29a), with the sentence organized in a topic + comment structure. Fronted topics may be marked by the topic marker *kɔ̀h*. The two principal markers employed for purposes of information structure are the topic marker *kɔ̀h* (originally a medial demonstrative) and the focus marker *raʔ*. Both follow the constituent they mark and are sufficient in themselves to indicate the pragmatic function of the constituents; there is not necessarily a change in word order.

12 Transitive and Intransitive clauses are symbolized respectively by A V O and S V. A stands for the first argument (Agent) of a transitive clause while S stands for the unique argument of the intransitive clause.

(29) a. လိက်ဂ် ဧုံပ်။
lòc ***kɔ̀h*** *ɗɛh* *pɔ̀h.*
text MEDL 3 read
'That book, he read.'

b. ဧုံပ်ရ လိက်ဂ်။
ɗɛh *pɔ̀h* ***raʔ,*** *lòc* ***kɔ̀h.***
3 read FOC text MEDL
'He read it, that book.'

(30) a. အဲအာရ။
ʔuə *ʔa* ***raʔ.***
1SG go FOC
'I am going.'

b. အဲရအာ။
ʔuə ***raʔ*** *ʔa.*
1SG FOC go
'It's me who's going.'

3.3.1 Clause linkage

The distinction between subordinate and coordinate clauses is not clear in many cases in Mon, as there is no morphosyntactic marking of verbal finiteness. Various morphemes may be used to link clauses, or the linkage may be made implicit by simply juxtaposing the clauses. Spoken narratives frequently link clauses by 'tail-head linkage', where part of the previous sentence is repeated, followed by the linker *toə teh*, 'this being done', lit. 'finish TOPIC'[13], or simply the topic marker *teh* as in (31). The same linker *toə teh* can also occur in sentence initial position, implying a follow up on something stated earlier (see Burmese on similar functions of ပြီး *pyi*[3], table 13, p. 99).

(31) ငှ့ကဲ့အာ ငှ့ကဲ့အာတော့ ...
ŋèə *kɔ̀h* *klɛʔ* *ʔa,* *ŋèə* *kɔ̀h* *klɛʔ* *ʔa* ***teh*** ...
frog MEDL disappear go frog MEDL disappear go TOP ...
'The frog had disappeared. When the frog had disappeared, ...'

Conditional clauses are either introduced by the conditional marker *yɔ̀.raʔ* 'if' or followed by the topic marker *teh*, or both. In speech, the version with the clause-final topic marker is preferred, unless the conditional value of the clause is to be emphasized. In the formal language, either clause-initial *yɔ̀.raʔ* or clause-final *məkɛ̀h* 'speaking of which, saying which', which may be a calque of Burmese ဆိုရင် $s^{h}o^{2}.yiN^{2}$ 'speaking of which', with topicalising force.

Other adverbial clauses are introduced by a lexical or grammatical morpheme, indicating the relationship between the clauses. Causal clauses thus are preceded by *hʊt nù*, lit. 'reason from', purposive clauses by *ɲɔ̀ŋ kɤ̌ʔ*, *swɛk kɤ̌ʔ* or

13 See the similar structure of the Burmese linker $pyi^{3}.Tɔ^{1}$ ပြီးတော့ 'after'

phɤ̀ʔ kɤ̀ʔ all ‘so that, in order to’. Temporal clauses are introduced by *laʔ* ‘when’(from Pali *kāla* ‘time’), *khɤ̀* ‘while’ or *nù* ‘from > since’ and *tɤ̀* (*thɤ̀ʔ*) ‘until’.

Complement clauses can in formal Mon be introduced by *kɛ̀h* ‘say’, as in (32)[14]. In colloquial speech, juxtaposed complement clauses are preferred, frequently marked by *kɔ̀h*, indicating their non-predicative (topical) status, as in (33).

(32) ထေင်ဂးဧုံကလေင်စအာဖိုဟ်ရ။
thiəŋ ***kɛ̀h*** *ɗɛh* *kəliəŋ* *cao* *ʔa* *phɤh* *raʔ.*
think say 3 return return go still FOC
‘I thought he was going back.’

(33) အလိုဧုံအာဂ့် အဲဟွံတီ အဲဟွံပစိုတ်။
ʔəlɒ *ɗɛh* *ʔa* ***kɔ̀h*** *ʔuə* *hùʔ* *tɛm,* *ʔuə* *hùʔ* *paʔ* *cɒt*
where 3 go MEDL 1SG NEG know 1SG NEG do mind
‘I don’t know, I don’t care where he went.’
lit. Where he went/goes, I don’t know, I don’t care.

As seen above (section 3.1.3), relative clauses are usually unmarked in spoken Mon, tough the original relativizer *mə* may still occur cliticized to the verb.

3.3.2 Questions

Content questions consist of an interrogative pronoun, modifier, or adverb, such as *ɲèh.kɔ̀h* ‘who’, *mùʔ/mɔ̀ʔ* ‘what’, *ʔəlɒ* ‘where’, *lɒ* ‘which’, etc. The interrogative word occurs either *in situ* or is fronted. When fronted, the old relativizer *mə=* is sometimes placed before the verb, showing that the fronting of interrogatives is a reanalysis of cleft sentences (as in (34). Both positions are possible with adverbial interrogatives such as *ʔəlɒ* ‘where’, *chəlɔʔ* ‘when’ and others. ‘What’ is always fronted in attributive function (‘what kind of…’), and can be fronted and pleonastically occur *in situ* as well when in object function. ‘Who’ *ɲèh.kɔ̀h* is fronted in attributive function before nouns, as in *ɲèh.kɔ̀h kon* ‘whose child’, never in object function. An interrogative sentence usually ends in *rao*, but this question particle is often dropped in colloquial speech. Content ques-

14 On the complementizer function of verbs meaning ‘say’ in (Southeast) Asian languages, see Min chapter (§3.5) and Chappell 2008 on Sinitic languages.

tions can be pluralized by adding *kʊm* to the end of the question (before the particle *rao*), e.g. *mùʔ mə=nùm kʊm rao?* 'what is there?' (with more than one answer in mind). Interrogatives occurring in negated clauses express the corresponding negatives, i.e. *mùʔ hùʔ paʔ* 'I'm not doing anything.', lit. 'what – not – do'.

Table 9: Interrogative forms and their position in the clause

Interrogative form	Meaning	In situ	Fronted
ɲèh.kɔ̀h	'who',	Yes	Yes (with restriction)
mùʔ/mɔ̀ʔ	'what'	Yes	Yes (with restriction)
ʔəlʊ	'where',	Yes	Yes
lʊ	'which'	Yes	
chəlɔʔ	'when'	Yes	Yes

(34) အလို့ခုံမအာ။ ဗျော်ရော။

ʔəlʊ	*dɛh*	*mə*	*ʔa?*	*pèh*	*rao?*
where	3	REL	go	2	Q
'Where is he going?'				'And what about you?'	

Polar questions both with verbal and non-verbal predicates are formed by adding the question particle *ha* in sentence-final position, or after the constituent questioned in the case of narrow interrogative focus (cf. 35). This particle *ha* can also be used in negative questions. For tag questions *siəŋ ha* 'is it so?' is added, which in rapid speech is often shortened to *siəʔ* or *seʔ*, spoken in a high pitch. The particle *ha* is also used to form alternative questions, as there is no direct translation equivalent of 'or' (see example 35).

(35) လမ်ွက်ဟာ ဗုဟာ။

pəcɔk	*ha,*	*pùʔ*	*ha*
black	Q	white	Q

'Is it black or white?', (lit. 'is it black, is it white?').

Both content and polar questions can be "passed on" to a new addressee or referent with the formula *X rao*, where X is the new addressee or the new referent about which the question is asked (see example 34b).

3.3.3 Imperatives

The imperative can be formed by the bare verb, though is considered blunt and not appropriate in many contexts. Usually the attenuative auxiliary verb *ɲìʔ* 'little, few' is added. Indirect speech acts, such as questions like 'could you please...', to express orders are rarely used in colloquial Mon.

Hortative expressions use the sentence-final particle *coʔ* 'let's', a Burmese loan (ဦး *so*[1]). For optatives the pre-clausal auxiliary *kʊ* 'give > let' is used, as in *kʊ ɗɛh ʔa* 'let him go; may he go'. The prohibitive is expressed by the preverbal *paʔ*, homophonous (and historically connected) with the verb *paʔ* 'do'. The prohibitive marker in Old Mon was *laḥ* 'don't', which was combined with *paʔ* 'do'. This was later reanalysed as a single word and was shortened to *paʔ*. The modern spelling လ္ပ <lpa> as well as the reading pronunciation *ləpaʔ* still reflect this etymology.

3.3.4 Clause-final particles

Mon makes less frequent use of clause final particles than other languages in the area, such as Burmese and Thai. The politeness particle *ʔao* may be added to an utterance, but this is less regularly done than in neighbouring languages. The same particle may also be used to answer a question or call. When speaking with Buddhist monks, *kyac*, lit. 'sacred being' is used in both functions, i.e. expressing respect.

The focus marker *raʔ* is often used to end a sentence, though this is not the primary function of this marker. The sentence final particle *nah* is frequent; it puts emphasis on the truth of the statement and at the same time asks for consent of the addressee.

Some sentence particles are obviously borrowings from Burmese, like *nɔ* and *pɔʔ* (see Burmese နော် *nɔ*[2] and ပေါ့ *pɔ*[1]). These are regularly used only in forms of Mon which have been Burmanized to some degree. More frequent is the Burmese loan *lèy* (Burmese လေ *le*[2]) indicating emphasis. Other sentence particles, viz. interrogative *ha* and *rao* and negative *pùh*, have been discussed above.

4 Semantics and pragmatics

4.1 Pronouns

The pronominal system of Mon is simple compared to other languages in the region (see Burmese or Thai). In spite of a long social tradition with different layers of society, Mon has not developed an elaborate hierarchical pronominal system, which may be indicative of the historically less institutionalized character of the hierarchical structure of Mon society as opposed to Thai and Burmese customs. There is only one form for the first person singular, viz. *ʔuə*, used by both men and women, irrespective of the social status of the speaker and the addressee. Only when speaking with monks the extended form *ʔuə ɗoc*, lit. 'I servant' is used. The plural of the first person is *poy*, equally socially neutral. Instead of second person pronouns, personal names or kinship or professional terms are normally used. The pronoun *ɓɛ̀ʔ* 'you' is considered rude and mainly used among close friends or in contempt, while the form *mənɛ̀h* is in formal use only. A somewhat more neutral pronoun is *pèh*, used when speaking to friends or inferiors, as well as intimately among lovers. Third person pronouns are *ɗɛh* 'it; he, she', used colloquially for both human and non-human referents. In more formal contexts, *ɲèh*, lit. 'person', is used for human referents. The plural of second and third person pronouns is regularly formed by adding *tɔʔ*.

Table 10: Pronouns in Mon

Pronouns	Mon		Literal meaning
1sg (fam.)	အဲ	*ʔuə*	
1sg. (honor.)	အဲဝိုက်	*ʔuə ɗoc*	'I servant'
1pl	ပိုၚ်	*poy*	
2sg. (fam)	မ္	*ɓɛ̀ʔ*	
2sg. (neutral)	ဓေ့	*pèh*	
2sg. (formal)	မ့	*mənɛ̀h*	
3sg.	ဓဲ့	*ɗɛh*	
3sg. (formal, human)	ညး	*ɲèh*	'person'
2–3pl	တံ	*tɔʔ*	

4.2 Semantic domains

Being a rice cultivating society, Mon naturally has a rich indigenous vocabulary for all aspects of rice cultivation. The rice plant itself is called *sɒʔ*, a term also denoting the unhusked rice grain. The husked, uncooked rice grain is *haoʔ*, and cooked rice is *pɤŋ*, which has also come to denote 'food' in general. Rice is planted in *ŋèʔ* 'rice field', while other crops, including *pəlɔɲ* 'sticky rice', are grown in *kù* 'field', *klɔʔ* 'orchard' or *wèə* '(open) field'.

Table 11: Terms for Rice

rice plant	unhusked rice grain	husked rice	cooked rice	'sticky rice'	'rice field'
	သ့ *sɒʔ*,	သ့ *haoʔ*	ပုင် *pɤŋ*	တဖျင် *pəlɔɲ*	ဍ့ *ŋèʔ*

While loanwords from Burmese are mostly basic vocabulary, Pali is the source language for most religious vocabulary. One noticeable exception is the use of the indigenous *kyac* 'sacred being/object' for the Buddha, including Buddha statues, as well as pagodas. Some Pali words have been naturalized, so that their Indian origin is now hardly visible, such as *phèə* 'monastery, school' from Pali *vihāra* 'Buddhist monastery'. A few Buddhist terms are from Sanskrit rather than Pali, like *thɔ̀* 'Law, Doctrine' from *dharma* (cf. *kɔm* 'karma, deed' from the Pali form *kamma*). Some basic words have special forms when referring to monks, like *kɒ pɒn* 'eat' (common language *ɕiəʔ*), lit. 'give merit', based on the belief that people attain merit by giving food to the monks, and the monks in turn give merit to the people by accepting the food.

The Mon lexicon allows for fine semantic distinctions in some daily activities, as is illustrated by the set of verbs used for wearing various items of clothing[15]. In younger speakers these differences tend to disappear, especially those whose speech is influenced by Thai which makes fewer distinctions in this domain. One term considered sufficiently neutral takes over the fields of all others, resulting in semantic bleaching (and impoverishment of the vocabulary).

15 Notice that Khmer has similar distinctions.

Table 12: Verbs of 'wearing'

လွှက် (ပလော်)	*kətɛk (pəlɒʔ)*	wear (a shirt)
စုတ် (ခရောပ်ဖိုင်, ဒဥောဝ်မတ်)	*cut (hərop càŋ, kəhò mòt)*	wear (socks)
ဒလို (ခွော်)	*həlɤ̀ (həmok)*	wear (a hat)
ဗိုက် (ပံင်မီ, ဂိုက်)	*pàk (pɔŋmɒə, klòc)*	wear (trousers, a waistcloth *m*)
ဟိ (ဂိုန်)	*hɤ (nìn)*	wear (a waistcloth *f*)
လိုန် (ဒျပ်)	*lɤ̀n (həmɔ̀p)*	wear (shoes)
ဝက် (သ္နေက်)	*wɛ̀k (hniək)*	wear (earrings)
ပါတ် (နာဦ)	*pat (nədī)*	wear (a watch)
လ္ဝက် (ပဝါ)	*kəɓɛk (kəwa)*	wear (a shawl)
ကွက် (မဒွါ)	*kwɛk (mɛ̀ʔ kwɛ̀ə)*	wear (a necklace)

The basic colour terms in Mon are monomorphemic and synchronically opaque. The class term *sac* 'type, kind, colour' is usually prefixed to all colour terms. The most common basic colour terms are listed in the following table.

Table 13: Basic colour terms

ဗု	*pùʔ*	white	ဍဲ	*ɗay*	(bright) red	ဦ့	*ɗɒm*	(dark) blue
လမ့်က်	*pəcɔk*	black	ဗကေတ်	*həket*	red	တ့ေက်	*ŋiək*	green

Other colours are referred to using nouns, like *sac mìt* 'yellow' < 'turmeric colour' and *sac təkah* 'light blue'< 'sky colour', *sac limao* 'orange colour'.

In Mon kinship terminology both gender and relative age are important. The extended family is called *mɛ̀ʔsaʔ*. Other cover terms are compound forms, such as *mìʔ-mɛ̀ʔ* or *yày-ʔəpa* for 'parents'. It is noticeable that generally the female comes first in compounds of this kind, as can be seen also in the term for ancestors in general, *cùʔ cɛ̀ʔ pèə lɛ̀ʔ*. Apart from some kinship terms are borrowed from Burmese, most kinship terms are Mon. Note that the system is not symmetrical, showing many gaps especially in the generations above the parents. While there are specific terms for grandfather's younger siblings, there are none for his older siblings, nor for grandmother's. Cousins are not usually distinguished from siblings, though the technical term *kon-kao-kon-tèʔ*, lit. 'child - older.brother - child - younger.brother' can be used. This compound is not specified for gender and relative age.

Table 14: Kinship terminology

1)	ကော, အဝေါ	*kao, ʔəwao*	older brother	12)	ကျစီ	*ʔiʔci*	younger aunt
2)	အမ, မဲ့	*ʔəmaʔ, bɔ̀ə*	older sister	13)	အမူ	*ʔəmù*	younger uncle
3)	ဒဲ့	*tèʔ*	younger sibling	14)	သီ	*sɒə*	parent's younger sister
4)	ကောန်	*kon*	child	15)	ကျနဲ့	*ʔiʔnày*	older aunt
5)	စ	*cao*	*grandchild*	16)	အနဲ့	*ʔənày*	older uncle
6)	စိုက်, စိက်	*cak, coc*	*great grandchild*	17)	ကျနော်, ဗ	*ʔiʔnòk, pèə*	grandmother
7)	စေက်	*ciək*	*great great grandchild*	18)	အနော်, လ	*ʔənòk, lèʔ*	grandfather
8)	စော်	*cok*	*great great great grandchild*	19)	မိနက်, ဇု	*mìʔ nèk, cùʔ*	great grandmother
9)	ကောန်ကွိန်	*kon mɛn*	nephew, niece	20)	အပါနက်, ဇ	*ʔapa nèk, cèʔ*	great grandfather
10)	မိ, ယဲ့	*mìʔ, yày*	mother	21)	ကျဇု	*ʔiʔcùʔ*	younger sister of grandfather
11)	မ, အပါ	*mèʔ, ʔapa*	father	22)	အဇု, လဇု	*ʔəcùʔ, lèʔ cùʔ*	younger brother of grandfather

5 Conclusion

This chapter sets out some of the main characteristics of Mon, one of the languages at the heart of the Mainland Southeast Asian linguistic area. Like Thai, Burmese and other neighbouring languages, Mon has a system of psychocollocations formed from the same Pali etymon *citta* 'mind', a developed classifier system, an elaborate pronoun set which encodes social relations. Serial verb constructions and TOPIC-COMMENT type sentences are common, and pragmatic detail is indicated with sentence-final particles.

Abbreviations

ASRT	assertive
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
DES	desiderative
DIST	distal demonstrative
FOC	focus
LOC	locative
MEDL	medial demonstrative
MM	middle mon
NEG	negation
NMLZ	nominalizer
NSIT	new situation
OBL	oblique
OM	old Mon
PL	plural
PROX	proximal demonstrative
Q	question
RED	reduplication
REL	relativizer
SG	singular
SRC	source
SM	spoken Mon
TOP	topic

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2006. Serial verb constructions in typological perspective. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald & R. M. W. Dixon. *Serial Verb constructions*, 1–68. London: Oxford University Press.

Bauer, Christian. 1982. *Morphology and syntax of spoken Mon*. PhD dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Bril, Isabelle. 2004. Complex nuclei in Oceanic languages: Contribution to an areal typology. In I. Bril & F. Ozanne-Rivierre (eds.), *Complex Predicates in Oceanic Language: Studies in the Dynamics of Binding and Boundness*, 1–48. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Chappell, Hilary. 2008. Variation in the grammaticalization of complementizers from *verba dicendi* in Sinitic languages. *Linguistic Typology* 12 (1). 45–98.

Diffloth, Gérard. 1984. *Dvaravati Old Mon and Nyah Kur*. Monic Language Studies, vol. 1. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.

Daniels, Peter T. & William Bright. 1996. *The world's writing systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2010. *Basic linguistic theory – Vol. 1: Methodology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Enfield, Nick J. 2003. *Linguistic epidemiology*. London: Routledge Curzon.

Jenny, Mathias. 2003. New infixes in spoken Mon. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 33. 183–194.
Jenny, Mathias. 2005. *The verb system of Mon*. Zurich: Arbeiten des Seminars für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft (ASAS).
Jenny, Mathias. 2006. Mon 'raʔ' and 'noŋ': Assertive particles? *Mon-Khmer Studies* 36. 21–38.
Jenny, Mathias. 2009. Deixis and information structure in Mon. The multifunctional particle *kòh*. *Journal of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society* 2. 53–72.
Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Sidwell, Paul. 2014. Expressives in Austroasiatic. in Jeffrey P. Williams (ed.), *The aesthetics of grammar*, 17–35. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Shorto, Harry L. 1962. *A dictionary of modern spoken Mon*. London: Oxford University Press.
Shorto, Harry L. 1971. A dictionary of the Mon inscriptions from the 6th to the 16th centuries. London: Oxford University Press.
van der Auwera, Johan, Peter Kehayov & Alice Vittrant. 2009. Acquisitive modals. In L. Hogeweg, H. De Hoop & A. Malchukov (eds.). *Cross-linguistic studies of tense, aspect, and modality*, 271–302. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Van Valin, Robert D. & Randy J. LaPolla. 1997. *Syntax: Structure, meaning, and function*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Appendix 1: Summary of linguistic features

Legend
+++ the feature is pervasive or used obligatorily in the language
++ the feature is normal but selectively distributed in the language
+ the feature is merely possible or observable in the language
– the feature is impossible or absent in the language

	Feature	**+++/++/+/–**	**§ ref. in this chapter**
Phonetics	Lexical tone or register	+++	§1.2, p.282
Phonetics	Back unrounded vowels	+	§1.1, p.281
Phonetics	Initial velar nasal	+++	§1.1, p.280
Phonetics	Implosive consonants	+++	§1.1, p.280
Phonetics	Sesquisyllabic structures	+++	§1.3, p.282 & §2.2, p.284
Morphology	Tendency towards monosyllabicity	+++	not discussed explicitly
Morphology	Tendency to form compounds	+++	§2.2, p.284
Morphology	Tendency towards isolating (rather than affixation)	+(+)	§2.1, p.283 & see also color terms, p.311
Morphology	Psycho-collocations	+++	§2.3, p.286
Morphology	Elaborate expressions (e.g. four-syllable or other set patterns)	+++	§2.4, p.287

	Feature	+++/++/+/–	§ ref. in this chapter
Morphology	Reduplication generally	+++	§2.5, p.288
Morphology	Reduplication of nouns	+	§2.5, p.288
Morphology	Reduplication of verbs	+++	§2.5, p.288–89
Grammar	Use of classifiers	+	§3.1.2, p.290
Grammar	Classifiers used in counting	+	§3.1.2, p.290
Grammar	Classifiers used with demonstratives	–	§3.1.1, p.290
Grammar	Adjectival verbs	+++	not discussed explicitly
Grammar	Grammatical number	++	§3.1.2, p.295
Grammar	Inflection of verbs	–	–
Grammar	Use of tense/aspect markers	++	§3.2.1, p.295 & also §3.2.3, p.299
Grammar	Use of verb plural markers	–	§3.2.1, p.295
Grammar	Grammaticalization of GET/ OBTAIN (potential mod. resultative/perfect aspect)	+++	§3.2.2, §3.2.3, p.301
Grammar	Grammaticalization of PUT, SET (completed/resultative aspect) 'keep, deposit' > completed/resultative marker	+++	§3.2.3, p.302
Grammar	Grammaticalization of GIVE (causative, benefactive; preposition)	+++	§3.2.1, p.298 §3.2.4, p.304
Grammar	Grammaticalization of FINISH (perfective/ complete aspect; conjunction/temporal subordinator)	+++	§3.3.1, p.305
Grammar	Grammaticalization of directional verbs e.g. GO / COME (allative, venitive)	+++	§3.2.2, p.297 & §3.2.3, p.301
Grammar	Grammaticalization of SEE, WATCH (temptative)	++	not discussed explicitly
Grammar	Grammaticalization of STAY, REMAIN (progressive and continuous, durative aspects)	+++	not discussed explicitly
Grammar	Serial verb constructions	+++	§3.2.2, p.297
Syntax	Verb precedes object (VO)	++	§3.3, p.295
Syntax	Auxiliary precedes verb	++	§3.2.3, p.299
Syntax	Preposition preceds noun	+++	§3.1.4, p.294
Syntax	Noun precedes adjective	+++	§3.1, p.289

	Feature	+++/++/+/–	§ ref. in this chapter
Syntax	Noun precedes demonstrative	+++	§3.1, p.289
Syntax	Noun precedes genitive	+++	§3.1.3, p.292
Syntax	Noun precedes relative clause	+++	§3.1.3, p.293 & also table 6, p.290
Syntax	Use of topic-comment structures	+++	§3.3, p.304 also §3.1, p.290 & p.312
Syntax	Ellipsis of arguments known from context	+++	not discussed explicitly
Lexical semantics	Specific terms for forms of rice	+++	§4.2, p.310
Pragmatics	Use of utterance-final pragmatic particles	++	§3.3.4, p.308
Pragmatics	Encoding of politeness	+	§3.3.4, p.308
Pragmatics	Encoding of honorifics	+	§4.1, p.309

Appendix 2: Text interlinearized

Memories of World War II in Monland

အဵ နူကိုသက္ကရာတ် ၃၀၃ ဏး ဂျပါန်တိုန်အာစိုပ်ကြုင်ကၚ်ဂှ်၊ ကာဂျပါန်ဂှ်နက်မံၚ်အ္ဒဲဂှ်တုဲတ္ၚ်ဒေုံ
ပလးနၚ်ကောန်စၟလဇုကြိုအ်မွဲ အၚ်္ဂလိက်ဂှ်။

ʔe	*nù*	*kɒ*	*sɛkkeràt*	*pɒəʔ-klɔm-pɒəʔ*	*nah*	*cəpan*	*tɒn*	*ʔa*
well	from	OBL	era	three-hundred-three	EMPH	Japanese	up	go

cɒp	*krɤŋ-kɛŋ*	*kɔ̀h,*	*ka*	*cəpan*	*kɔ̀h*	*nɛ̀k*	*mɔ̀ŋ*	*hənày*	*kɔ̀h*
arrive	Kroeng-Kang	MEDL	car	Japanese	MEDL	stuck	stay	place	MEDL

toə	*teh*	*dɛh*	*həlɛ̀h*	*nɛ̀ŋ*	*kon.cao*	*ləcùʔ*	*krɒʔ*	*mùə*
finish	TOP	3	CAUS.free	CAUS.come	grandchild	old.man	stout	one

ʔɛŋkəlòc	*kɔ̀h.*
English	MEDL

'It was in the year 1303 [1941 AD], right, that the Japanese came up to Kroeng Kang village. Their car got stuck there, and they released the grandchild of a stout old man, that Englishman.'

ကာလဂ့် အင်္ဂလိက်နွံမံင်ပွဲကြွက်ပိဂ့် ပိဒ္ဓော် ပွဲပုဂ့်ပိဒ္ဓစာ အေ ဂပဝ်ကျင်ဦုက်ကွင်ကြွက်ပိဂ့် ဂပဝ်ကျင်ဒ္ဓကောတ်ဓီကြွင်ကင်တေံသေင်၊ အေ ကျင်ဂဗဆိုစုတ်ဂျပါန်ဒ္ဒာဲဂ့်ဒ္ဒ်တ အင်္ဂလိက်တံဂ့်လေဝ် အာလဂ့် ...

kalaʔ kɔ̀h ʔɛŋkəlòc nùm mɔ̀ŋ ɗɔə krɤk-pvəʔ pvəʔ.coh, ɗɔə pəŋaʔ
time MEDL English exist stay LOC Kroek-Poi thirty LOC Panga

kɔ̀h pvəʔ.coh. ʔe həpɔ klɤŋ ɗak ɓɛŋ krɤk-pvəʔ kɔ̀h,
MEDL thirty well go.around come ride ship Kroek-Poi MEDL

həpɔ klɤŋ kənot ɓi krɤŋ-kɛŋ tɤʔ siəŋ, ʔe klɤŋ
go.around come far.end river Kroeng-Kang DIST right? well come

həpɛ̀ʔ chɤ cut cəpan hənày kɔ̀h teh ʔɛŋkelòc tɔʔ kɔ̀h lɛ
meet find PUT Japanese place MEDL TOP English PL MEDL ADD

ʔa ləkɔ̀h ...
go then ...

'At hat time there were thirty English at Kroek Poi, another thirty at Panga. They made a detour around [the Japanese], riding a ship to Kroek Poi. They came to the far end of the Kroeng Kang river, and here they bumbed into the Japanese, and then the English went ...'

အင်္ဂလိက်ဂ့် မုဦုက်ကျင်မု။

ʔɛŋkəlòc kɔ̀h mùʔ ɗak klɤŋ mùʔ??
English MEDL what ride come what

'What did they ride coming here, the English?'

ဌာ ... ဦုက်ကျင်ဌာ ဦုကဂကျင်ဌာတဲ့တ့် ဌာဂ့်ထောံထောံဖအိုတ်။ ဩပ်စ်ကျင်ကွာန်ပုတဲ့ဒ္ဒ်တ ဓိုတ်ထပ်နာဦုဗ့ဂ့်ဒ္ဒ်တ တိုန်အာဧျင်မတ်မလိုတေံ။ ဂွံနင်ကာကိုထောန်မေဝ်မွဲမ ဂွံနင်ကာကိုဂျဝ်ဒေန်မွဲမ။ အေ ကာလဂ့်တ့် စိုပ်အာကျာ်သင်လာန်တေံ။ ပန်နာဦုပယျိုယးတေံ ဂျပါန်တံဗိုင်ဂွံလဂ့် ...

la, ɗak klɤŋ la toə teh la kɔ̀h thɒʔ hɒʔ həʔɒt.
donkey ride come donkey FINISH TOP donkey MEDL discard DISCARD ADV.all

krìp cao klɤŋ kwan pəŋaʔ toə teh ɓɒt həpɔh nədî
run return come village Panga FINISH TOP about seven hour

hətɔm kɔ̀h teh tɒn ʔa ɗɤŋ mòt.məlɤ̀m tɤʔ kɤ̌ʔ nɛ̀ŋ ka
night MEDL TOP go.up go town Moulmein DIST get CAUS.come car

kɤ-thon-mè	*mùə*	*mèʔ,*	*kɤ̌ʔ*	*nɛ̀ŋ*	*ka*	*kɤ-kyɔ̀-tɛ̀n*	*mùə*	*mèʔ.*
Ko-Htun-May	one	CLF	get	CAUS.come	car	Ko-Kyaw-Tin	one	CLF

ʔe	*kalaʔ*	*kɔ̀h*	*teh,*	*cʊp*	*ʔa*	*kyac-sɛŋ-làn*	*tɤʔ.*	*pɔn*	*nədî*
well	time	MEDL	TOP	arrive	go	Kyaik-Than-Lan	DIST	four	hour

pəyʊ	*yèh*	*tɤʔ*	*cəpan*	*tɔʔ*	*pàŋ*	*kɤ̌ʔ*	*ləkɔ̀h …*
border	dawn	DIST	Japanese	PL	surround	GET	then

‘Donkeys, they came riding donkeys, and then they just got rid of them all. They ran back here to Panga village and then about seven o’clock that night they went up to Moulmein. They got one car from Ko Htun May, and they got another car from Ko Kyaw Tin. Well, then they went to Kyaik Than Lan pagoda. At four o’clock, before dawn, the Japanese had surrounded [the place] …’

လွပ်ခဲ့အလို်ထော်။

ləwɔ̀h	*ɗɛh*	*ʔəlʊ*	*thʊʔ??*
weapon	3	where	discard

‘Where did they put their weapons?’

ထော်ထော်ပဲ့ကြိုပ်ဂုံဖအိုတ်ရ။

thʊʔ	*hʊʔ*	*ɗɔə*	*krɤ̀p*	*kɔ̀h*	*həʔʊt*	*raʔ.*
discard	DISCARD	LOC	forest	MEDL	ADV.all	FOC

‘They just threw them away in that forest.’

ကံဂုံထော်လဝ်ဒ္ဒှဲဂုံဖအိုတ်။

kɔm	*kɔ̀h*	*thʊʔ*	*lɔ̀*	*hənày*	*kɔ̀h*	*həʔʊt*
bullet	MEDL	discard	deposit	place	MEDL	ADV.all

‘The bullets too, they threw them all away there.’

ဂျပါန်ချိုက်ဂွံတဲ့ အင်္ဂလိက်လက်လို်အာ။

cəpan	*ɗak*	*kɤ̌ʔ*	*toə,*	*ʔɛŋkəlòc*	*lɛk*	*lʊ*	*ʔaʔ*
Japanese	ride	GET	FINISH	English	side	which	go

‘When the Japanese gained the upper hand, where did the English go?’

အေ ဂျပါန်ဂုံချိုက်ဂွံ အာရပ်ဂွံအင်္ဂလိက်၊ ခဲ့ရပ်ဂွံလဝ်ဖအိုတ်။ ဒ္ဒှဲဂုံတ့ျံ ပန်မံင်ညးသွဲ့ဂုံပိဗ္ဘိပိတဲ့ နူမတ္တမတော်ဗလးနင် နူကိုမတ်မလိုဏ်ဗလးဏာ။ အေ လဂုံတဲ့ဒ့ျံတ အယောဒ့ျေငံမံင်ဂုံ လဂျပါန်တိုန် လံက်ဟပ္ပင်တော် ဂျပါန်ဒ့ကာံဏာဍာန်တိုက်တော်။ အေလဂုံဒ့ျံတ အင်္ဂလိက်ဆုတ်အာ။

ʔe	*cəpan*	*kɔ̀h*	*ɗak*	*kɤ̌ʔ*	*ʔa*	*rɔ̀p*	*kɤ̌ʔ*	*ʔɛŋkəlòc,*	*ɗɛh*	*rɔ̀p*	*kɤ̌ʔ*
well	Japanese	MEDL	ride	GET	go	catch	get	English	3	catch	get

lɔ̀	*həʔɒt.*	*hənày*	*kɔ̀h*	*teh*	*pɔn*	*mɔ̀ŋ*	*ɲèh.həkɔʔ*	*pɒəʔ*	*hətɔm*
DEPOSIT	ADV.all	place	MEDL	TOP	shoot	stay	each.other	three	night

pɒəʔ	*ŋuə,*	*nù*	*mɔttemaʔ*	*tɤʔ*	*həlɛ̀h*	*nɛ̀ŋ,*	*nù*	*kɒ*	*mòt.məlɤ̀m*
three	day	from	Martaban	DIST	CAUS.free	CAUS.come	from	OBL	Moulmein

nɔʔ	*həlɛ̀h*	*na.*	*ʔe*	*ləkɔ̀h*	*toə*	*teh*	*ʔəkhɤ̀*	*chɔ̀n*	*mɔ̀ŋ*	*kɔ̀h*
PROX	CAUS.free	CAUS.go	well	then	FINISH	TOP	while	fight	STAY	MEDL

laʔ	*cəpan*	*tɒn*	*lɔ̀k-həplɛŋ*	*tɤʔ*	*cəpan*	*klɒʔ*	*na*
when	Japanese	go.up	Lok-Haplang	DIST	Japanese	cross	CAUS.go

ɗan	*tak*	*tɤʔ.*	*ʔe*	*ləkɔ̀h*	*teh*	*ʔɛŋkəlòc*	*chut*	*ʔa.*
road	land	DIST	well	then	TOP	English	go.back	go

‘Well, when the Japanese gained he upper hand they went and managed to capture English [soldiers]. They captured them all. At that place they kept shooting at each other for three nights and three days. From over there in Martaban they shot over here, and from here in Moulmein they shot there. Well, while they were still engaging each other in the fight, when the Japanese went up to Lok Haplang, they crossed that road. Well, then the English retreated.’

အေတုဲလကၜင်ကျာကၠုင်အာကိုဳကၠံုနူသင်ကပူ ...

ʔe	*toə*	*laʔ*	*ɓɛŋ.kya*	*klɤŋ*	*ʔa*	*kɒ*	*klɔm*	*nù*	*sɛŋkəpu ...*
well	FINISH	when	airplane	come	go	OBL	hundred	from	Singapore

‘And when hundreds of airplanes came and went from Singapore ...’

အဂှ်သက္ကရာတ် ၃၀၁ သင်ကပူဒကးအာယျ။ ၃၀၃ ဂှ် ဂျပါန်စိုပ်ဍုင်ပိုဳတံ။

ʔəkɔ̀h	*sɛkkəràt*	*pɒəʔ-klɔm-mùə*	*sɛŋkepu*	*həkah*	*ʔa*	*yaʔ*
NMLZ.MEDL	era	three-hundred-one	Singapore	break	go	NSIT

pɒəʔ-klɔm-pɒəʔ	*kɔ̀h*	*cəpan*	*cɒp*	*dɤŋ*	*poy*	*nɔʔ.*
three-hundred-three	MEDL	Japanese	arrive	land	1PL	PROX

‘That was in 1301, Singapore had already fallen. In 1303 the Japanese reached our land.’